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not just an incomplete and unsatisfying life, but a *hellish* life, a life without meaning, a life hurtful to others and hurtful to himself. He sees that the one real and enduring meaning that could stand up to death comes by no calculus of personal drives and optimizing choices, but by life in God. By his own lights, he sees that we live a fully human life, without regrets, when we answer fully God's plan for us. Lawrence and Nohria's way of seeing human nature is also a way of not seeing human nature. What if God is nature's caveat, the qualification that defines our distinctively *human* nature? What if human nature is something more than the mere nature canvassed in this provocative book?

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Worked Over: The Corporate Sabotage of an American Community.

Dimitra Doukas. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003. 199 pp. \$39.95, cloth; \$18.95, paper.

Worked Over tells the story of the rise and fall of the quality of life in New York State's Mohawk River Valley. Doukas, an anthropologist, blends her 18-month ethnographic experience with an acute reading of history to tell us how the Remington Arms Company's business practices help to shape community life. It is a compelling and important read. Unbeknownst to the author, she has begun to answer the recent calls for organization theorists to examine the effects of corporations on society (Stern and Barley, 1996; Perrow, 2000; Hinings and Greenwood, 2002; Margolis and Walsh, 2003; Walsh, Weber, and Margolis, 2003). While she spends some time looking at Remington Arms, her abiding focus is on the people and community life around Ilion, New York. This is the book's great strength. Organization theorists might be inclined to examine Remington's changing business fortunes, missing this opportunity to consider how these changes affected the local population.

Observing that central New York had been populated by members of the Iroquois nation almost since time immemorial (p. 10), she notes that European settlers began to arrive in great numbers after 1720. She really picks up the region's story upon the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825. Doukas wonderfully describes the prosperity that followed the construction of the Remington manufacturing facilities in Ilion. The 1870s were the "golden age of Ilion" (p. 81). Remington was flush with success after supplying so many weapons to the combatants in the Civil War and then enjoying lucrative

foreign arms deals with the Danish and French governments. Life in Ilion was a blend of agriculture and manufacturing activity, and Doukas is quite taken with the quality of life in this seemingly political and economical "island" community. Doukas intimates that wages were high. The 600 mechanics that made the 12,000 rifles and 80,000 pistols that Remington sold in 1865 were paid \$52 per month (p. 79). But more importantly, it was "neighborly reciprocity" that ensured this high quality of life. As she astutely observes, "neighborliness—helping, borrowing, lending, 'watching out for each other'—make hard times livable" (p. 41).

Doukas suggests that life turned grim in the ensuing hundred-plus years. She did her fieldwork in 1993 and 1994. The median per capita income for Ilion's residents in 1994 was \$22,115; one-third of them were on public assistance of some kind (p. 23). She argues that the community today barely clings to its long-lived egalitarian values in the face of "the 'survival of the fittest' logic that is embedded in the mainstream American culture of individualism and upward mobility" (p. 151). I visited Ilion after I read the book. As physically beautiful as the Mohawk River Valley is, I venture to say that few readers of this journal will be interested in moving there anytime soon. While the standard of living for the valley's residents may or may not have fallen precipitously over the years, the area is not particularly prosperous. Who or what is responsible for its current economic predicament, and possible downfall? Doukas points her finger at corporate capitalism, specifically at the trusts that she says conspired with corrupt government officials to take control of Remington Arms and then extract concession after concession from its workers in search of monopoly profits before ultimately decimating the facilities in pursuit of even lower labor costs elsewhere. I am not sure that this is a fair telling of the story.

Doukas is quick to credit the Remington family for its early technical and commercial acumen and the role of its business in creating a quality of life that she so admires, but she is just as quick to blame the changing corporation for the valley's problems, as evidenced by the book's subtitle. Sabotage is a strong word. In the end, she appears to be quite ambivalent about business, celebrating the good life it can create but excoriating it for its seeming failures. The book would have been even better if it had clearly established the link between Remington's business practices and the fate of the area. Indeed, a more skeptical reader may wonder if Ilion's story is better told as a tale about the rise and fall of the Erie Canal's place in America's commerce. Some might even argue that Ilion's contemporary well being, tenuous as it is, exists not because Remington abandoned the area but, rather, because it stayed long after trade along the canal ceased to be as important as it once was.

One could read *Worked Over* and never know that Remington still operates the Ilion plant. Combine the author's present-day portrait of life in the Mohawk River Valley with words like "Under the protective cover of the postindustrial dream, the corporate regime exported manufacturing from the land of the original American dream to lands across the planet . . ." (p. 155), and you might reasonably conclude that

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Remington abandoned Ilion years ago to manufacture its weapons and ammunition in some faraway third-world country. A prospectus filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission on July 18, 2003 tells a different story. Instead, we learn that Remington Arms, headquartered in Madison, North Carolina, earned \$20 million on sales of \$403 million in 2002. It has approximately 2,352 full-time employees, 952 of them unionized hourly workers in its Ilion manufacturing plant (who, relatively speaking, make more money than their ancestors did during the Civil War—\$52/week is equivalent to \$5267/year in 1994 dollars). And notwithstanding Doukas's critical discussion of an international division of labor, Remington's operations are located solely within the United States. It now operates plants in five states. Perhaps Remington is not the rapacious icon of capitalism run amok that we might imagine. Having said that, we do not really know how Remington managed to survive as an economic entity for all these years. Very few firms live to be 187 years old. Perhaps their corporate history is filled with subterfuge and corruption of all kinds. Perhaps not. That is a business story worth telling. What Doukas has clearly told us is that the community around the Ilion facility has seen better days. While the task of explaining might strain the capabilities of an anthropologist, I wish I knew what Remington's leaders could have done differently to ensure a healthier community—and still survive. I wish she had considered corporate paths not taken, especially since she is inclined to blame the company for its misdeeds.

Doukas excoriates Remington for sabotaging the valley's community life and then, oddly enough, gives up on the company. Her intellectual stance sends her off in a different direction. Theoretically, she embraces Gudeman's (2001) idea of a capitalism defined by locally owned manufacturing, reflecting Marx's (1976: 168) idea that communities can organize to produce and sell goods to advance the social purposes of the community itself. Practically, she concludes with a plea for political reform to instantiate such a system, which seemingly guarantees the advantages of business while suffering few of its liabilities. Such hopeful reform might hold one key to our collective well being, but this book is not a careful consideration of business-government relations. Again, I wish she had stayed closer to her data and considered what Remington's executives could and should have done differently to change the valley's fortunes. She might argue that this question is moot once locally owned manufacturing disappeared. That would be too pat an answer. This is a crucial question.

While Doukas implies that Remington did too little for the people of the valley, a firm can also be criticized for doing too much. If a firm (locally owned or not) devotes too much attention to the community's social life, it may be condemned for enveloping humanity in the web of capital. Welfare capitalism can do harm to a community as well (Jacoby, 1997). Too much attention to a community's well-being can also destroy a firm. Sull (1999) showed how the Firestone Tire & Rubber Company's commitment to the people of Akron limited its ability to respond to the radial tire revolution of the late 1960s, leading to its acquisition by a foreign firm

in 1988 and, ironically, to the degradation of so many lives in Akron. So, how is a firm to weigh and balance its economic and social imperatives? Doukas may not be able to answer this difficult question completely, but we would be well served if she tried. Ending a book about corporate sabotage with a plea for better government makes for a tidy, but ultimately disappointing ending.

Finally, no consideration of the corporate sabotage of a community would be complete without rethinking the idea of community. Notwithstanding Doukas's attraction to locally owned manufacturing and the idea of "island communities," she ultimately convinces me that such islands do not exist. Consider how the "golden age of Ilion" was built on the destruction of other communities. While readers will be impressed by her grasp of this region's nearly 200-year history, this is ultimately a modern-day tale. The story of the rise of the Remington family, its early commitment to locally owned manufacturing, and the many benefits it brought to the valley is also part of a larger story about the systematic destruction of another people's way of life, the "mighty Iroquois" (p. 10). Only briefly mentioning the Iroquois, Doukas simply remarks that the area was free for development once the members of the Mohawk Nation fled to Canada after choosing the wrong side in the American Revolution. We need to be clearer about our notions of community. The wonderful story of the Mohawk Valley's manufacturing successes can also be told as a horrific tale of a displaced people's misery, just as the tale of Remington's seeming disregard for Ilion might be told as a story of rejuvenation for the communities in Arkansas, Kentucky, Ohio, and Oklahoma that welcomed their new investments.

Moreover, Doukas never considers the fact that Ilion's community thrived on the invention and manufacture of weaponry. Whether or not we accept her hypothesis about how a transformed Remington Arms Company, perhaps something of an "economic monster" (p. 153), sabotaged the citizens' lives in the Mohawk River Valley, it is curious that she never considers that the valley's near idyllic lifestyle was sustained by supplying rifles and pistols to the domestic and international arms market. While Doukas blames capital's interests for Ilion's fate, today's socially conscious investors would not buy stock in a company like Remington Arms if it were publicly traded. For example, Domini Social Investments, an organization that manages \$1.5 billion, "will not invest in any company deriving identifiable revenues from the manufacture of firearms or small arms ammunition"

(<http://www.domini.com/Social-Screening/Weapons/index.htm>). I suspect that if the Remington family had maintained local control of its firm, sited all of its subsequent operations in the Ilion area, and busily manufactured rifles, pistols, and ammunition for nearly two centuries, a prosperous valley life would never have attracted Doukas's scholarly attention. The products produced by Ilion's skilled mechanics may have sustained Ilion as an island of prosperity, but sure as shootin', this island was inextricably linked to the rest of the world. Ilion was never an island community. Ask the Iroquois, or the Prussians who fought the

French. Moreover, barring some kind of political and economic cataclysm, the globalization of today's factor and product markets (Parker, 1996) tells us that Doukas's vision of a locally sustained economy has no chance of coming to pass. The challenge confronting us, then, is to manage (and yes, regulate) our companies in such a way that they enhance our collective quality of life.

Doukas knows that, in the end, she is a storyteller. Her very first words in the preface say as much: "Many stories of 'the Valley' can be told. Many are. Some would be more upbeat than mine. Some would not. You can't please everyone." She tells a story with a definite point of view. Setting aside a consideration of its contribution to the near extinction of the Iroquois people, it may very well be that Remington Arms has been something of a parasite, feeding on the defenseless city of Ilion for more than a hundred years. It may also be that Remington could have done more, and still can do more, to ensure the region's prosperity. That said, it may also be that Remington's commitment to Ilion, long after the heydays of the Erie Canal, is more akin to Firestone's commitment to Akron. We do not know if the descendants of Remington's nearly 1000 Ilion employees have jobs waiting for them when they come of age. And, finally, it may also be that humanity would best be served if the people of Ilion stopped manufacturing rifles, pistols, and ammunition altogether. Yes, many stories can be told. Doukas tells the "big company ruins small town" tale very well. Compelling and seductive as that familiar story may be, the truth may be much more complicated. We need to get the story right. Global capitalism being what it is, there is no research topic more important to humankind than the study of the relationship between corporations and the communities that sustain them and are sustained by them.

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